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A D D R E S S

OF THE

Central Committee

Appointed by a Convention of both branches of the Legislature friendly to the election of John Q. Adams as president and Richard Rush as vice-president of the U. States, held at the State-House in Boston, June 10, 1828, to their fellow-citizens.

The Central Committee of the friends of the Administration in Massachusetts, in the discharge of their duty, submit the following statements and considerations to their fellow citizens, throughout the Commonwealth. They have delayed this Address till the present late moment, from the wish to see the great national question at issue reduced to its narrowest form, and brought within such a compass, as that the public generally, and every elector, may perceive what is the probable event, and what are the turning points of the election. Believing that their fellow citizens look to this Commonwealth for an accurate statement of the present situation of the canvass, we shall proceed to lay it before them, according to the latest and most authentic information.

Great efforts have been made, both within and without the bounds of New England, to shake the attachment of the good people of this part of the Union to the men of their choice; while in the opposite section of the country, with a few exceptions, all local divisions have been merged, and the most irreconcileable political enemies have combined in one effort to prostrate the Administration. Attempts have been insidiously made, with an assiduity and zeal worthy of a better cause, though happily without any effect, to destroy, by internal divisions, the strength of the New England States. To keep up the sinking spirits of the party opposed to the Administration, it is, in distant parts of the Union, reported, one day, that New Hampshire has declared against the Administration; the next, that three districts are lost in Maine; and the next, that there is a formidable opposition in Vermont. As often as the truth of these statements has been brought to the test of the ballot box, it has been seen how grossly delusive they are; and never more conspicuously than in the late elections in Maine, which have resulted in sifting the government of that State of those, who, in defiance of the will, the judgment, and the interests of the people, were endeavouring to traffic away their votes for selfish aggrandizement. All New England remains firm and unshaken for the Administration, and will support it with fifty one votes. As it is our immediate purpose to state those facts which may be relied on as *certain*, leaving out of view, for the present, such as, from the nature of the case, remain yet to be decided, we pass over New York, where the Administration has the support generally of THE PEOPLE, and where, in a large majority of the districts, we have good hope that the dictation of the political managers will be successfully resisted. In like

manner we leave Pennsylvania at present out of the account ; but before closing this Address, we shall communicate the result of our latest information, in respect to that state. The votes of New Jersey, *eight* in number, and of Delaware, *three*, may be calculated on, with perfect confidence, for the Administration. It deserves notice, that Mr. Condict, a most respectable representative of Congress from New Jersey, was the individual, who first recommended Gen. Jackson to Mr. Madison for the appointment of Major General in the Army of the United States. This fact Mr. Condict has lately stated to the public, adding, in substance, that, though " his confidence in General Jackson's military talent remains unshaken, nothing could have been farther from his thoughts than to prepare his way for the Presidency, deeming him destitute of all the qualifications for the office. Passing for the present over Maryland, and the States still farther south, we reach Louisiana, the field of Gen. Jackson's fame, and visited by him a few months since, for the first time since the year 1815, with what views this Committee will leave to the judgment of their fellow citizens. The people of Louisiana were the only portion of the citizens of the United States who had witnessed a specimen of Gen. Jackson's construction of the constitution and laws. They have tried him, and the result is known to the Union. It is a truly singular circumstance, that while the people of Louisiana, and of the city of New Orleans itself, are rousing themselves against Gen. Jackson with such spirit and firmness, there should be found a numerous party, in other portions of the Union, willing, on the sole ground of his exploits at New Orleans, to elevate him to the most arduous civil trust in the world. We should have thought, that the people of all the other states would have said, in effect, to the

people of New Orleans, who co-operated, as one man, in the defence of that city, and exhibited a patriotic valor as conspicuous on their part, as the bravery manifested on his:—‘What is your judgment of this candidate for the Presidency? How did he demean himself while among you?’ And when it was seen that this people pronounced him wholly unfit, it might have been expected that others, who had not tried him, would be governed, in a good degree, by the opinion of those who had. The five votes of Louisiana will be given for Mr. Adams.

In like manner, the sixteen votes of Ohio, the fourteen of Kentucky, and the five of Indiana will be given, in support of the Administration.—Efforts almost incredible, and unsurpassed in the history of the elections of this country, have been made, to detach Kentucky from the cause; but it is gratifying to see the steady and decisive operation of the good sense of the people, rising over every obstacle. From a careful attention to the progress of events, throughout the whole canvass, we find that the sober, thinking, and especially the aged people, with the young men, who aim to advance themselves by diligence, industry, devotion to business in their calling, and attachment to principle, are almost unanimous for the Administration. On the other side, are as generally enlisted the political managers, the unsuccessful politicians of all parties, the unreflecting, and the adventurers. This consideration shows us, that we have in our favour the *principle* on which our institutions rest, the good sense and sound judgment of the people.

The votes we have thus far enumerated, and which are a part only of those which are certain for Mr Adams, and those of

The six New-England States,	-	-	-	51
New-Jersey,	-	-	-	8
Delaware,	-	-	-	3
Ohio,	-	-	-	16
Kentucky,	-	-	-	14
Indiana,	-	-	-	5
Louisiana,	-	-	-	5
				—
				102

The votes of several other states are exceedingly doubtful, and fully as likely to be given to Mr. Adams, as to General Jackson. Among those we mention first Illinois and Missouri. In these States, members of Congress have lately been elected supposed to be friendly to General Jackson. But the best information we can obtain assures us, that this is the effect of local divisions, relative particularly to the land system of those States. At the election of 1824, one of the three votes of Illinois was given to Mr. Adams, after that election was decided in the house of Representatives, on which occasion Mr. Scott the member from Missouri voted for Mr. Adams, the people of the state of Missouri elected Mr. Bates a zealous friend of the Administration, in the place of Mr. Scott. These facts show that the votes of these two States may be considered as doubtful.

A majority of the thinking and reflecting portion of the people of Virginia, are in favour of the re-election of Mr. Adams; eight of the electors, who supported Mr. Jefferson are living, and of these seven are friendly to the Administration. A large majority of the Judges of the State are of the same politics. The venerated Chief Justice Marshall has declared publicly that for the first time for a long course of years, he shall go to the polls, for the sake of testifying his abhorence of the manner in which the Chief Magistrate of the Union has

been assailed. His respected associate, Judge Washington, the nephew of him who was first in the hearts of his countrymen, is equally attached to the Administration ; and Messrs Madison and Munroe were prevented only by their unwillingness to encounter the abuse poured on the friends of the Administration by the opposition press, from obeying the call of their fellow citizens, friendly to the election of Mr. Adams, and heading the electoral list. These few acts show that the judicious and reflecting portion of the people of Virginia is with us ; such, however, is the ascendancy possessed by the political organization concentrated at Richmond, and acting through the instrumentality of a paper, once able and respectable, and not yet as destitute of influence, as of character, that we cannot flatter ourselves too sanguinely with carrying the vote of the State. But when we consider the good materials, which it contains, with the additional fact that all the partisan leaders now supporting General Jackson, in that State, were four years ago his bitterest enemies, regarding him as a person, who by intruding himself into the canvass, had broken down Mr. Crawford in the south, there is no ground whatever to despair. The prospect in North Carolina is still more encouraging, at the last election General Jackson had scarce a third of the votes of that State, and the friends of Mr. Crawford have generally declared their preference to Mr. Adams, as their second choice. The sober judgment of the mass of the people, in that State, is wholly enlisted with us.

The strong tendency of our party divisions to assume a geographical form, against which Washington so solemnly warned us, lessens the hopes, which we might otherwise feel, that the States last mentioned will support a northern president. No such obstacle exists in the great and interesting

State of Pennsylvania, and there the good cause which we support with that silent and steady progress which marks the triumphs of truth and reason, has been gaining, almost unobserved, a most gratifying ascendancy. At the last election, no serious effort was made against General Jackson. The friends of Mr. Calhoun abandoned him at a day's notice, and joined the friends of General Jackson, and neither of the other candidates were supported with vigour. The consequence was, that the whole number of votes was small. General Jackson received a plurality of them, but it was a very small minority of the whole number of voters, who will come to the polls at the next election. Since the present contest has existed, the nature of the presidential office has been brought home to the minds of the people, and the qualifications of the candidates have been compared. It is unnecessary to say, what has been the result. The society of Friends and the other religious communities opposed to war, of course give the preference to a civilian and a man of peace. The German population has been too much gratified by the unostentatious manners of the President, and the practical business-like character of the administration, to wish for a change. Their maxim is 'to let what is well enough, alone.' They are coming out in all directions for Mr. Adams and Mr. Rush. Our present information enables us to state, that the progress of opinion in favor of the administration has been astonishingly great. The members of Congress most violently opposed to the administration will not be re-elected. Several of them have failed to be re-nominated by their own friends; and we have the pleasing assurance, that out of twenty-six members of Congress from that State, to be elected this autumn, fifteen or sixteen will be friendly to the administration. We consider that, at this moment, the State of

Pennsylvania is equally balanced, and as likely to go for the administration, as against it.

It ought not to be omitted here, that in one of the districts of Tennessee, the friends of the administration are unquestionably a majority. But as club law is introduced in that region, and any person signalizing himself, as an opponent to the candidate of the majority, is subject to personal outrage, assault and assassination, it is not impossible that the friends of the administration, consisting as they do of the friends of order and peace, may be driven from the polls, by mobs of armed desperadoes, and prevented from giving their suffrage. It is known, however, that a year ago, the opposition candidate for Congress, in a district of East Tennessee, was elected by a very slender majority over his competitor, and many well-informed persons are persuaded, that General Jackson will lose the electoral votes of that district. But for the reign of terror, to which we have alluded, such would unquestionably be the case.

We have made these statements, relative to doubtful States, and doubtful votes, in the discharge of our duty to the citizens of this Commonwealth; and not because any of them are necessary to the re-election of the chief magistrate; still, however, a bare re-election does not satisfy the wishes of the friends of our republican institutions. We wish to show to the world, that there is not a bare plurality, but an overwhelming majority of the people, in favor of mild, pacific, and civil principles of administration. Returning, therefore, to the statement commenced above, and which extended to 102 votes, with regard to which no controversy exists, even on the part of the candid opponents, we add,

In Maryland, 9, and
In New York, 24;

Making, in addition to those enumerated above, 135 ; being four more votes than are required to re-elect Mr. Adams, a majority of the electoral college being 131. We claim but 9 of the 11 votes of Maryland, although well-informed persons think that but one vote in that state will be given to Gen. Jackson. In New York the reaction against the Albany dictation is tremendous. The chains of the caucus despotism seem to be broken. Hints had been thrown out, by way of sounding the public, that the legislature would rob the people of the election. At the first distant rumor of the plot, the substantial yeomanry of the state was perceived to be in motion. The leaders shrunk back appalled. The project is disclaimed, and will not be attempted. But even in tampering thus far with the sacred right of suffrage, those who have too long misled the councils of that great and intelligent state, have fatally shaken the fabric of their own strength. To stop the progress of defection, every effort and every artifice have been resorted to ; and a last unworthy attempt is now making, to draw some food for opposition out of the Morgan excitement. This attempt has been conducted with deep-plotting malignity. It was first clamorously asserted, throughout the opposition presses, that the President was a mason. The contrary having been often stated to be the fact, a citizen of New York resolved to ascertain the truth, and addressed a letter to him containing the inquiry. To this the President, in the most simple and inoffensive terms, returned an answer, desiring the person addressing him, in consideration of the prevailing excitement, not to publish the letter. By a breach of honor and confidence not now for the first time practised, and which unhappily belongs to the maxim, 'that all is fair in politics,' this correspondence has been thrown into the

newspapers; and now the President is denounced in the most outrageous manner—for answering the letter of a citizen, and is basely charged with endeavoring to take advantage of the Morgan excitement, and this in many instances by the very men, who, for political effect, had declared him to be a free-mason, knowing such not to be the fact! We are gratified to hear that a course of such strongly marked tergiversation has been seen in its true light in the State of New-York, and that each new effort to destroy the character of the President, gains him new friends and warmer support. We have set down 24 votes for that State. From sources of information, entitled to great respect, we might claim three quarters of the whole number, or 27. A statement just published in the Nashville Republican, the official paper of the friends of the opposition candidate, concedes to the Administration 22 votes in the State. This number of votes will be secure, even if but 20 out of the 34 electors chosen by the people should be friendly to the Administration, because a majority of these 34 choose the two additional electors. But 22 votes in New York will re-elect Mr. Adams, even although four votes in Maryland, and all, which we have considered as doubtful, throughout the United States, should be given to Gen. Jackson.

The election then is safe, but it is safe in the supposition, that the friends of principle do their duty. But it cannot be disguised that the contest has been waged from a very early period, in a manner betokening desperation. Presses, conducted by men without character and lost to shame, have been put forward, in front of the array. One of these has been selected for the patronage of the Senate of the United States, a body, which till the organization of the present opposition, had preserv-

ed its dignity in the darkest times. Others of like stamp are scattered over the Union, and have given a character to the controversy, which reflects discredit on the country. Our metropolis presents a signal example; so outrageous is the press, enlisted in Boston in the cause of General Jackson, (whom it proclaimed totally unfit for the presidency four years ago,) that a new opposition journal has been started, on the *alleged* ground, that the former was a scandal to any cause. It is a matter of regret, that the feeble support given to the new paper conclusively shows, that violence, scurrillity, invasion of private character, and systematic disregard of truth are deemed essential to the presses, which oppose the Administration.

While on this head, we think it proper to remark, that though the opposition presses, and those that effect a neutrality, endeavour to recriminate on the presses engaged in support of the Administration; it is a singular and an important fact, that there is not a reproach against General Jackson's public or private character, which was not originally published by some of his present friends. It was his great supporter in the Western States, Mr. Senator Benton, who declared him the author of an outrage "unheard of in the civilized world." It was the Benton pamphlet, which first brought to public notice the various charges against the private life of General Jackson, and exposed the circumstances of the military executions under his command; and it was the Boston opposition paper, which first called the public attention, in this part of the country, to this pamphlet, declaring that its author had done nobly, in showing the unfitness of General Jackson for the Presidency. It was General Adair of Kentucky, who many years ago, insinuated, that General Jackson, after being implicated in Burr's treason, had made his peace with the govern-

ment, by turning state's evidence ; and it was the organ of the Central Junta of Richmond, which, after a general review of his life, declared that "his election would be a curse to his country ;" and it was the organ of the Caucus Managers at Albany, which denounced him as "a federalist" and declared that he stood "at an immeasurable distance from the Presidential Chair."

We do not deem it necessary, at this late stage of the controversy, to enter into an exposition of the character of the two candidates before the people. As friends of the Chief Magistrate, we are willing to rest his cause, with the testimonials in his favor, proceeding from each of his predecessors in the office ; with the unexampled satisfaction afforded by Mr. Munroe's eight years administration, of which Mr. Adams, under the President, stood at the head, and with the sober judgment of the people, on his own acts, since he has filled the Chair of State. As opponents of General Jackson, we are willing to rest our strong persuasion of his want of qualifications, on the assertions of his incompetency made, four years ago, by the men and the presses now foremost in his support. We had not formerly, we have not now, any hostility to his reasonable pretensions. We acknowledge his services at New-Orleans. As he appeared desirous of some further reward, than he had received, we were for a time willing to raise him to the place of Vice-President, an office not conferring any portion of the executive power of the government, and where his peculiar habits of command might have been advantageously employed in preventing the occurrence of scenes, which we fear for the honor of the country, it will be hard to efface from the journals of the Senate. But the political leaders and the presses now enlisted in General Jackson's cause, compelled us to feel and to acknowledge his unfitness

for the Presidential Chair. We cannot change the convictions they produced in our minds, because their interest has led them to change their language. What they proved to be true, four years ago, has not ceased to be true, because they have combined to place a man, in the Chair of State, whose election they then pronounced, would be a curse to America.

If we were disposed, at this late day, to enter into a discussion of the charges against the Administration, we should be prevented by their extreme futility. The charge most depended on, and selected by General Jackson himself as the most prominent, is that of a corrupt understanding between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, preceded by a proffer of a like understanding on the part of Mr. Clay to himself. When General Jackson first lent his name to this charge, he promised to give up his authority for making it, should Mr. Clay deny its truth, and to retract the charge, if it proved to be unfounded. Mr. Clay instantly made the denial; and General Jackson then named Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, as the bearer of the corrupt overture from Mr. Clay. Mr. Buchanan immediately came out, with the declaration, that he acted on his own behalf, and without authority from any one. Gen. Jackson has not yet redeemed his pledge, by retracting the charge, which his own witness has disproved. But what makes the charge of a corrupt understanding, if possible, more ridiculous, than it has become, by the uniform failure of every attempt to substantiate it, is the fact, that the offices are already currently named, which almost every man is to fill, who is now an active leader in the cause of General Jackson. Mr. Calhoun, who was broken down by General Jackson at the last election, and owed the office of Vice-President to the votes of Mr. Adams' friends in New-England, is now to be

supported as Vice-President, by the friends of General Jackson; although the political hostility and the opposition of interest, between Mr. Calhoun and the Caucus Managers at Albany are so great, that even down to the present moment, Mr. Calhoun has not been able to procure a nomination in New-York. The Members of the Cabinet, the Foreign Ministers, and all the subordinate officers of the government, to be appointed by General Jackson throughout the country, are confidentially specified; and not a few of them are men who four years ago were straining every nerve to prove to the American people, that General Jackson was utterly unfit to preside over the nation.

Nor is it merely individuals that have thus formed a general coalition. A leading member of Congress, friendly to Gen. Jackson, declared two years ago, that '*the combinations*, to effect his election, were nearly completed.' When pressed to explain this alarming representation, he stated that he meant, not combinations of individuals, but combinations of great States. We accordingly find that an attempt has been made to bring about a combination between New-York and Pennsylvania, on the one hand, and Virginia and South Carolina on the other. While Gen. Jackson is recommended, in Pennsylvania, as the father of the tariff system, his election is urged at the South, on the ground that under him, there will be a fair chance for its repeal.

But we confess that we are opposed to the election of Gen. Jackson, and are friendly to that of the present chief magistrate, on higher ground than the mere futility of the charges brought against the Administration. We consider our republic, as it was called by our beloved Washington, the last great experiment of the capacity of man for self-government. In the organization

of such a republic there must be a principle, and if this principle be departed from, the republic itself must crumble and fall. This principle, in our government, is, that high civil trusts should be given, not as decorations for military prowess, but to men whose qualifications fit them to discharge the duties of the said trusts. This is a business government, and the chief magistrate, so far from being a parade officer, has much more business to do than any officer in the Union. His business is of an arduous and complicated nature. He must be thoroughly acquainted with the laws of the country, for every question in the administration and execution of the laws, throughout the Union, which is referred to Washington, must be decided, in the last resort, by him. Matters, the most perplexed, are in this way constantly submitted to him, which he must personally investigate and settle. It is impossible to do this, without being familiar with the whole course of judicial decision in the Courts both of the States and the Union. All the intricacies of the public land system must be at his command. The entire series of the revenue laws, with their successive changes and present state, must be present at once to his mind, for millions of the public property depend upon his being able, in case of need, to direct their prompt application. All cases of disputed accounts, in every part of the service requiring Executive sanction, are referred to and must be examined by him. The President must know the whole internal condition of the country, and the natural and economical connection of its various parts with each other, for he is daily called on to authorize expenditures of the public money, under the acts of Congress providing for surveys. Every act of Congress is presented to him for his signature. He must do what, if it were the sole business of the most industrious of

our legislators, would be thought enough to occupy all their time; that is, he must read over every act of Congress, weigh the reports on which it is founded, and the debates of its friends and opposers, and make up his mind whether, under the solemnity of an oath, he can put his name to it. In the administration of so vast a country as this, and under a government so recent as ours, new cases, unprovided for by legislation, are of frequent occurrence in every department of the service. These must be anxiously examined and decided, by the Chief Magistrate, according to the analogy of the constitution and law of the country. Almost the whole province of the Indian affairs of the country, a subject difficult and embarrassing beyond belief, is left by law with the discretion of the President. A number of treaties, with different tribes of Indians, are annually to be made, of the highest importance to the United States; difficulties of the most embarrassing character, in the execution of former treaties, frequently arise; and collisions between different States of the Union and the Aborigines in their neighbourhood, of painful and alarming aspect, have taken place from time to time ever since the peace of 1783. All these are subjects on which the President must often come to an instant decision, involving a vast amount of property, and affecting human life itself.

The proceedings of court martials, naval and military, are referred to the President, and their record, often extremely voluminous, must be read by him with the greatest care, as he is to approve or disapprove the sentence. The same holds of criminal trials in the courts in the United States. The President is obliged to administer, in the last resort, the discipline of the West Point Academy; and in case of dismissal, generally

receives applications for the restoration of the cadet, requiring careful investigation of the circumstances. Then there is the entire foreign intercourse of the country, to which he must pay the closest attention. He must carefully read the voluminous correspondence of every foreign minister, charge d'affaires, and, in all cases of importance, that of the consuls and commercial agents; and he must direct the answers to be returned by the Secretary of State. With the principal powers of Europe we have negotiations pending, some of which relate to matters that have been in discussion twenty years, others to controversies as old as the constitution. The documents necessary to the understanding of these negotiations fill a great number of printed volumes, and no doubt as many more lie unpublished in the archives of government. In addition to this, these negotiations often turn upon difficult points of foreign law, the law of nature and nations, and the import and construction of our own treaties. It will not do, when the time for decision arrives, for the President to be obliged to sit down, and begin to inquire into the subject. He cannot conscientiously leave to his Secretary of State, what his duty requires him to understand himself. All this profound and various knowledge must therefore be laid up in his mind, as in a vast storehouse, in orderly arrangement for immediate use. Besides the correspondence with our own ministers, the President must superintend the intercourse of the ministers of foreign powers with this government. We need only revert to the administrations of Washington, or the first of Mr. Madison, to understand the difficulty of this part of his duty. With all these labors pressing upon him, the President must, during one half of the year, stand ready to direct the answers to be made

to the calls of the two Houses of Congress, on every imaginable subject, not merely of legislation, but of inquiry. He must find time to receive applications and recommendations for every office within his nomination, applications sometimes, it is believed, amounting to several hundreds for one office. He must receive the visits, and attend to the personal communications of every citizen of the United States, who repairs to Washington with business, over which the Chief Magistrate has, or is supposed to have, a control. And he must go through this enormous amount of work, (more, unquestionably, than devolves on any officer in the world,) under the knowledge, that he is to be traversed, at every step, by an active, and often an unscrupulous and unprincipled opposition ; that which ever way he decides or acts, some of the ablest men and most active presses in the country will be instantly in motion, to prove that he ought to have done the precise contrary. If the experience of the last four years is to show the nature of the office, the President of the United States must also bear in mind, that, so far from being permitted the solace of private life, and the relaxation from incessant toil, which wearied nature demands, he is the only man in the country, whose house is not his castle, and that every step he takes, and every word he utters, will be searched out, with a scent as keen as the bloodhound's; and with a malignity, which innocence cannot disarm; nor honor restrain; nor indulgence satiate. We solemnly and fearlessly appeal to the American public to say, whether Gen. Jackson possesses the qualifications for such an office. Has he the knowledge of the constitution, and laws, and practice under them, of the system of the country in all its parts, of its internal interests, and of the infinite variety of questions for Executive decision arising out of them ; of our foreign relations, and our foreign politics ? We ask further, is there, at this

moment, an individual in the United States, who, with natural talents of the first order, has devoted more time, more labor, and more industry to the various subjects comprehended within this great range, than our present Chief Magistrate, or has a longer experience and a more familiar acquaintance in public affairs? Nay more. Is there a citizen in this whole country, whether friendly or hostile to the Chief Magistrate, who, if his own life and fortune were at stake, in a decision to be made on any one of these great and intricate questions, would not rather submit the matter to Mr. Adams, than to his opponent?

But we are now told, by the English Government prints, that *England* wishes the election of Gen. Jackson, and why? Does England wish our prosperity to be increased, and our numbers augmented? Or does she wish to pay a compliment to the Hero of New-Orleans? Assuredly not. England wishes to see the principles, on which a republican government rests, proved to be fallacious. She wishes to hold up to the liberal party, in her own country and on the continent, the example of America, removing from the chair of State a long tried, faithful, and experienced statesman, and putting a victorious General, allowed to be unqualified, in his place. She wishes to prove by such an occurrence, that in a Republic merit is not the path to promotion; nor qualifications the requisite for office. It is for this, that she stands ready, if it is called for, "to expend a million of pounds," in promoting General Jackson's election; and for this that her citizens, resident in this country, are enlisted in his cause. The pretence, to be sure, is, that General Jackson is hostile to the Manufacturing system, and that under his administration, the fabrics of America will be annihilated; and to this colouring too much authority has been given, by his partisans in some portions of the country. But a

deeper policy animates the master-spirits in England; and in enlisting themselves in the British cabinet and the British parliament, on the side of General Jackson, they fly at higher game, than our looms, or forges. It is not the manufacture of cottons or woollens that they have so much at heart. It is the *manufacture of republics*, which has already advanced on the American continent with a rapidity, alarming to the hereditary governments of Europe. And we hesitate not to say, that, if a single military achievement is to open the way to the chair of State, to a citizen acknowledged by his friends in point of qualifications, "to stand at an immeasurable distance from it," a more dangerous blow is struck at the cause of republican liberty, than if Spain and Great Britain should, by overwhelming power, resubjugate this whole continent. Such a catastrophe, deplorable as it would be, would be transient. The spirit of '76 would revive ; and the yoke would be shaken off, as soon as it was re-imposed. But for a decay in the bosom of the republic itself ; for a prostration of the civil principle by our own hands ; there can be no remedy. We consider a military election as worse than a military usurpation. The latter, as we see in the republics of the south, awakens the resistance of its victims. But if the people, of their own will, set up the highest civil trust of the country as a glittering bauble to be worn by the most fortunate champion, on the field of battle, they not only plunge the country into the evils of an incompetent administration of its affairs, but they destroy the only hope of a remedy.

The question now before the people of the United States is a *new question*, and one which goes to the stability of the republic ; several of our Presidents have been elected without serious opposition. This was the case with General Washington, with Mr. Jefferson in 1805, and with Mr. Munroe in

1821; others have been elected, after close contests, of which the most violent were those of 1797 and 1801. In these contests, no doubt, great difference of opinion, on political questions, was brought into action. But we have the authority of Mr. Jefferson for the assertion, that there was none which went to the foundation of the republic. When Mr. Jefferson took the chair of the senate, as Vice-President, in 1797, he used this language ; "The more important functions of the Presidency have been justly confided to the eminent character, [John Adams] who has preceded me here ; whose talents and integrity have been known and revered by me, through a long course of years, have been the foundation of a cordial and uninterrupted friendship between us ; and I devoutly pray he may long be preserved for the government, the happiness, and prosperity of our common country." Another animated controversy followed, and at the close of it in 1801, Mr. Jefferson thus expressed himself ; "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called, by different names, brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans, we are all federalists." Such is the account of our parties given in 1801 by one, who certainly will not be accused either of indifference to principle, or of ignorance of the real nature of our party divisions.

But if our parties, thus far, have divided not on principle but on opinion, we are now at issue, on on the *principle*, which lies at the very foundation of the republic. If there is any thing which can be called republican principle, if our whole system of politics have any foundation in reason and truth, it is, that office is a civil trust requiring qualifications for its performance. In other ages, and in other States there has been only a melancholy alternation of despots, who claim to rule by the grace of God ; and soldiers that rise up, from time to

time, and rule by the right of the strongest. Exasperated by military violence the people call back their hereditary lords ; and again, worn out by their legitimate tyrants, they swell the train of the conqueror, who starts up to avenge, and having avenged, to oppress them. The people of the United States have been urged to the eve of an experiment of strange and appalling novelty. In the bosom of peace, they are urged to reject a pacific and skillful magistrate, and place the reins of government in the hands of a military chieftain. Standing alone, as they do in the world, the only consolidated republic, amidst monarchies hostile of necessity to our very existence, we are called upon to trample upon the principle of our institutions, to permit an uninformed warrior, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, on another occasion “to ride booted and spurred” into the Presidency of the United States.

Nor is the *theory* behind the *practice*. While the subordinate partisans are plying the people with every art of political intrigue and management, goading them into madness against tried and faithful servants, and exalting beyond the bounds of human merit a man, whom they themselves had just taught the community to fear and despise, the leaders are occupied in poisoning the springs of the public judgment, and inventing new tests of moral and political merit. One of them, who has never found an Administration of his own country to approve, has informed the people of the United States, that he *is* of the party of General Jackson, and that had he lived in Rome, he should have been of the party of Cæsar. Another has made the discovery, that in the scale of republican merit, the talent of writing is the lowest, that of speaking the next, and that of action the first.

At least then fellow citizens, we cannot complain, that we are kept in entire ignorance of the policy of our opponents. If we are also for Cæsar, we

know which candidate to support. If we disdain the wisdom of the cabinet and the eloquence of the senate, and believe that action is the only requisite for a republican President, and "to look on blood and carnage with composure" his highest merit, our choice is easy. The opposing candidate is a brave, unreflecting, successful soldier; and in answer to every inquiry instituted as to his qualifications, in reply to every objection made to his character, his supporters tell you, "that he gained the battle of New-Orleans."

If you incline to the belief, that this is a government of law and of reason; a government to be administered, as it was formed, by the application of civil wisdom; if you believe that the chief magistracy is an arduous trust, requiring qualification, experience, constitutional learning, and practice in the administration of affairs, your choice is not less easy. It is the peculiarity of this contest, that there is really no competition between the candidates. Settle the principle of choice, and you settle the man to be chosen. Mr. Adams' friends do not pretend, that he can look on blood and carnage with composure, although they believe he has an uncommon share of that courage of the cabinet, which is full as noble, and far less frequent than that of the field. Our opponents cannot pretend, that their candidate has any experience in the administration of the government, any aptitude for the duties of the office, or any knowledge of the higher politics of the country, at home or abroad.

If, then, we wish for a civilian and a statesman, we shall not hesitate in our candidate. Mr. Jefferson, in 1785, perceived in him the seeds of future usefulness, and congratulated Mr. Gerry on the prospects of the country, in the young man. He was then 18 years of age. In 1797, General Washington declared him the most

useful character which we had abroad. Mr. King and General Pinckney were then in the foreign service of the country. In 1809, Mr. Madison sent him as minister to Russia; and in 1811, the same President appointed him to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1814, he stood at the head of the negotiators at Ghent. In 1817, he was placed by Mr. Munroe in the Department of State, General Jackson pronouncing him 'the fittest person for the office; a man who would stand by the country in the hour of danger.' For eight years he administered that department, longer than any other individual, with the exception of Mr. Madison, and as acceptably as he. During this period, the claims on Spain were paid, Florida added to the Union, and the republics of the South recognized.

As President of the United States, he has conducted the affairs of the country, with a wisdom, a prudence and success, which have driven his opponents, in their desperation, to declare, 'that they would prostrate his administration, although as pure as the angels.'

Such being the alternative between the candidates, our faith in the virtue of the people inspires us with the strongest confidence. They cannot, will not hesitate. It is not possible, that all the manifestations of a kind Providence to this people, are to end in the prostration of an able, virtuous, and incorruptible public servant. To the control of that Providence, and the intelligence and virtue of the people, we cheerfully commit the result.

SHERMAN LELAND,
WILLIAM B. CALHOUN,
H. A. S DEARBORN,
TIMOTHY FULLER,
LEVERETT SALSTONSTALL,
THOMAS WELSH, JR.
FRANCIS C. GRAY,

WILLIAM W. PARROTT,
JAMES SAVAGE,
JOHN R. ADAN,
ABBOTT LAWRENCE,
JOHN T. WINTHROP,
JOHN B. DAVIS,
S. C. PHILLIPS,

Massachusetts Central Committee.

